1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 482 used as live bait, he places the basket in a little hollow scooped out in the sand, half submerged in sea water. In spearing, torching, clubbing, and the modern method of iron spear catapulting, fish caught are tied together with coconut fiber (*kulova*) passed through the gills. The fish are laid on a convenient coral head when the fisherman moves or dives. To carry them greater distances, he strings them around the waist to make a malo of fish (*malo iku*) or loops them over the arm. Chants which celebrate the winning of fishing contests make frequent reference to the men coming home with strings of fish around head, waist, and shoulders.

226 The following list gives several common terms employed in fishing:

Tukunaku or wakuyvie: to pay out a line.
Wawaai: to pull in a line (general); to pull in a short line with overhand strokes.
Tape or kaapa: to pull in a long line with long overarm strokes.
Tatai: to take the strain on a line when a fish is fighting and cannot be pulled in.
Wakumaaia: to jerk a line to disengage the sinker.
Tae: to net fish in the air or to make an outward sweep of the net.
Toli: to make an inward sweep of the net to scoop fish into the canoe.
Yoku or nuumuu: to plunge the net into the water with a downward sweep in order to net a fish.

226 626 A lazy man who does not go fishing is termed, in ridicule, *atua uvavine* (female god), because he seems more concerned with the sphere of activities presided over by female gods who never interfere with the fishing pursuits of men. Another expressive phrase used to describe a bad fisherman is: "Ia kae i te maunu kava" (You have a bitter bait).

226 777 In general, bad luck in fishing is attributable to the breaking of tapus or to the domestic circumstances of the fisherman. If a wife commits adultery while her husband is out fishing, he will have bad luck: formerly he might repair his luck by prayers to his god. If a man quarrels with his wife before fishing or if he goes fishing while there is a corpse in his house, he will be unsuccessful (*ko kaya*).

226 782 776 778 Before going fishing in former days a man was careful to pray to his god or ask the priest of his paternal lineage to pray to the lineage gods for success in his undertaking. When a man went fishing for special fish, controlled by certain gods, he always prayed to these gods and again to the gods that control the winds. As his canoe passed the place where the sacred clearing (*yioaga*) of an ancestor god was visible, the fisherman stood up in his canoe and prayed to this god that he might procure plenty of fish and lose none of his pearl-shell hooks. Canoes going deep-sea fishing off the western side of the atoll, especially when trolling for bonito, always stopped opposite the stone of the god, Malokiselangi, near the western reef channel

226 782 to leave on this stone a gift for the god—a malo, some sennit, or a fish-hook. The gift (*sukatetea*) was later removed from the stone by the priest

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 of the god and placed in the god house. These prayers for good luck survive today in the prayer meetings that are held in the several villages before the fleets set out for a fishing contest and in the prayers that are said at sea before the first line is thrown overboard. In the story of Pania (1) a fisherman gives some fish to his god after returning from an expedition, in order to thank him for his services. Informants were unable to state whether this was a common custom in former days.

226 A curious story is that of the man Taewa who became a successful fisher-
304 man even though he did not observe any of the fishing tapus:
784

Taewa tried many times to be a good fisherman, but without success. Disgusted with himself after many years of effort, he decided that the only way to improve his fortune was to circumcise himself. He was the first and only Pukapukan man to do this. With a clam shell, he made a longitudinal slit in the foreskin, then slashed the skin till it hung in tatters. The wounds healed, and ever after Taewa had good luck in fishing. So fortunate was he that he could afford to disobey all the fishing tapus without suffering any penalties from the gods. He named the Black Nebula below Crux, Te Pusivi, because the shape of the nebula reminded him of the shape of the parrot fish. Some say that Taewa was protected by a spirit in this nebula when he broke tapus, though none knows how this protection was exercised. Others say his luck was due to the fact that he always fished when Te Pusivi rose above the horizon and not at any other time. None could explain the effect of his voluntary circumcision upon fishing luck.

225 There was no method of catching whales. When a whale was stranded
776 on the reef, a call was sent through the three villages. The women rushed off to the taro beds to bring back taro which they prepared for the men who went to cut up the animal. The work of cutting up was supervised by a priest of Te Mauagatu, the god who was supposed in some ill-defined way to control the stranding of whales. The blubber was divided among all the
237 people of the island. The vertebrae were used as seats; no use seems to have been made of the whalebone.

SIMPLE METHODS

226 Ill-defined methods of fishing—stone throwing or stone clubbing, stepping on fish, hand scooping, and hand dipping—are employed only incidentally to other activities.

Stone throwing (*kaoso hi te unate*) or stone clubbing (*patu hi te unate*) is performed by a man walking through the lagoon shallows who sees lagoon fish near by, often sleeping undisturbed at his approach. Fish killed by this method are yellow mullet, rock grunters, parrot fish, and flounders.

When a man fishing other lagoon fish comes across a flounder resting on the bottom, he makes a quick jab with his foot to pin down the fish, then picks it up, and kills it by biting it behind the head.

If a man sees a fish resting close by but can not find a stone or stick with which to kill it, he approaches quietly and, quickly dipping his hands into the water, scoops the fish onto the beach. This method is often successful with *tamanyi*, *tapeapea*, *tautau-*

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226

Pole fishing is carried out only at night after moonset of the first nights of the new moon. A man fishes alone or with several men in one canoe. After flying fish for bait are caught, the canoe is lodged to the reef by about 200 fathoms of line. The hooked *Rauotua* is speared before being drawn into the canoe.

Other fish caught at the same time are *kaukatia*, *kapoa*, the giant moray, and a few other large-eyed, night-feeding fish. *Kapoa* and *Rauotua* are considered sweet eating fish, although *kapoa* is said to have better flavor.

TROLLING

Three systems of trolling (*tahi*) for fish are used in Pukapuka:

1. Trolling while swimming (*tahi ia*, *tahi akaoko*, according to the fish caught). A man swimming in the deeper waters of the lagoon at dusk holds in one hand a few fathoms of fishline to one end of which a bone gorge (*au*) and bait are fastened. He pays out the line and lets it troll behind him as he swims. This is a method of catching needle fish.

2. Trolling from a canoe with a line (*takitaki*). One end of a fishline is held in the hand or fastened to the cross boom of the canoe outrigger; the other end is paid out over the stern of the canoe and left to troll behind. The line is sometimes jerked by hand to add movement to the lure. At other times the line is paid out fully and then rapidly pulled in again. A composite shell hook, sometimes today a pigeon, white tern, or tropic bird feather, or a baited hook serves to attract fish. The bait is alive or dead according to the fish to be caught. The trolling is across the lagoon by canoes going to the reserves, along the outside of the reef, or farther out to sea.

3. Trolling with a rod (*matila*) over the stern of the canoe (*tahi*). An unbaited composite hook, a feather fly, or a baited hook is used. If the fishing pole is not oscillated with the hand, movements of the hook or lure derive only from the motion of the canoe. Rod trolling may be inside or outside the reef. Fish trolled are caught equally well with rod or line except bonito, *pole*, *hamoi*, and *akoolo*, which are caught exclusively with trolling rod and unbaited hook.

Fish trolled with rod or line from canoe and with baited hook: *ulua* with live *malolo* bait and wooden hook; *tuto* and *lai* with live or dead *kalowa* bait; *tamatama* with live *malolo* bait; *atule* (close to the reef) with live or dead bait; rock groupers (along the reef) with any bait; *pakeke* with a *tafe* manga hook and live bait of needle fish, *kalowa*, or *malolo*.

Fish trolled with rod or line from canoe and with unbaited hook or feather fly: *akoolo*, the parrot fish, *pakeua*, *pora*, *kalawasia*, and *lai* (with fly of pigeon feather); *malolo*, the rock groupers, *pakeua*, *lai*, *tuto*, and *tamatama* with a fly of white tern or tropic bird feather.

BONITO FISHING

Fishing for bonito (*yi atu*) requires special techniques and was formerly tied up with much ceremonial. The bonito (*atu*) fishing season opens with the morning rising of the Pleiades and lasts for three to four months thereafter. As bonito schools (*livenga atu*) are believed to follow the schools of flying fish, bonito fishing comes after the flying-fish season has already commenced. Bonito bite best in the new and full of the moon.

226
776
782

At the rising of the Pleiades the men of the island formerly gathered together to decide what fish were to be specially fished during the coming season and what was to be the composition of the crews for the various fishing groups. There was no special religious ceremony to open the season but the priest of the god *Maiokilolangi*, protector

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

226 of bonito, communicated with this god to insure his favor during the coming bonito
776 season. The old men (*tupale*) decided which of the younger men should make up the
782 bonito-fishing group (*aotonga*) for the season. None but the men of this group might
fish *ete*. The *aotonga* fishermen were fed by the old men, who gave them cooked taro
to take with them each day they went fishing. The fish caught were all brought to the
meeting place (*malae*) of the old men and there divided among the people of the island
with the proviso that each man of the fishing group was allowed to have the head of
the fish he caught in addition to his share of the flesh. The group which caught *ete* one
226 year automatically became the group for securing *pale* fish the next year. All fish
868 caught were similarly divided by the old men among the people. The men of the
aotonga group, which consisted of about four canoe crews, each of five or six men,
were taught the elements of *ete* fishing, the rules, tapus, and skills before the season
started. There were no special names for the crew members. The best fisherman
(*tangata tau tautea*), who was usually also the oldest man of the group, became captain.
His was the canoe that always shot the reef passage first. The next canoe to follow
had the next oldest man of the *aotonga* as captain, and so on for all the canoes of
the *aotonga*.

226 Besides having care of the canoe and fishing gear, the captain of each canoe was
763 responsible for providing bonito hooks. He had to provide one hook for each member
931 of the crew, including himself; in a six-oarer canoe the captain went fishing with six
bonito hooks on his bonito rod. If, while the canoe was fishing, a storm arose that
seemed likely to break the canoe up, the captain gave to each member of the crew one
bonito hook from those on his rod. Each man tied his hook around his neck to act as
a breast ornament (*pusu*); were the men drowned thereafter, each went to his death
provided with his death ornament. If there were too few hooks to go round the crew,
as might sometimes happen if hooks were lost from the line while fishing, the captain
gave to those without hooks any article of value in the canoe—a section of anchor rope
or ordinary single-piece hooks. In this way no member of the crew lacked a death gift.
The theory behind this was that the captain was responsible for getting together his
crew, for their safety in this life, and for their dying at sea as well provided with gifts
as if they died on land. To give out the gifts was *wakoyasa*, and the gift itself was
yasa, as distinguished from the death gift on land, *watonga*.

Ata fishing was a somewhat perilous occupation because the canoe might press out
far from land in pursuit of a shoal of fish and, caught in a storm, be unable to make a
landfall again.

226 The canoes of the *aotonga* left the village early in the morning. As they passed
[782] the rock called To Ula-asasa-o-te-tokalau, which juts out of the water opposite Yato
village, the captain placed a male, hook, or simple coconut leaf on this rock as a gift
(*uakaitino*) to the god Maloiniteangi, that the god would give the canoes good fortune.
It was tapu for any canoe going across the reef to scrape the bottom on the coral. If a
canoe did this, it could not proceed farther but had to return to the village without
fishing during the day. Rain drives away bonito fish from the surface, and if the
canoes did not sight fish after patrolling for some time, it was permissible for them to
return to the reef to rest. All the crew, save only the bowman, might step out on the
reef and walk about; if the bowman forgot the tapu and stepped out, the whole crew
had immediately to return to the village without further delay, even if meantime a shoal
of fish had been sighted. If this tapu was disobeyed, the canoe was likely to be
destroyed by lightning. When the victims of such a mishap as the breaking of a tapu
returned to the village, they were greeted with insults and labeled *ngongo elo* (stinking
ngongo birds). The manner of the crew was great if later in the day the other canoes
of the group returned loaded with *ete* fish.

226 Bonito was not regarded as a fish (*ika*) but as an animal (*manu*). Fishermen
[825] located bonito schools by the flocks (*tuae*) of seabirds following them. Canoes trolled
up and down outside the reef. The captain sat against the bonito rod, which was sup-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

502 charged with paddling the canoe and keeping it clear of water. In small canoes the man directly amidships is the bailer and is termed *tata yua*. The bowman is known as *kauyu*. He is responsible for keeping a good lookout ahead, an especially important duty in shoal waters when he cons the canoe through the lagoon channels by directing the steering of the captain. He sits on the forward outrigger boom (*kaukau hi mua*) to keep the float down when the canoe is heeling over to a fresh wind. He alters the angle of the mast as required by the strength of the wind and uses his paddle as a leeboard if necessary. When it is necessary to turn the canoe quickly, he paddles at right angles to the canoe and thus helps the steersman. He is usually a strong, lively man as is demanded by his position.

322 782 562 778 793 Formerly tapus existed against the presence of women in canoes (p. 309) and against desecrating a canoe by capsizing it. When work began on a new voyaging canoe and again when the work was completed, a priest commended the canoe to the protection of the gods of the owner's paternal descent group. No details are remembered of these ceremonies, but they appear to have rendered the canoe in some measure tapu. Before starting a canoe voyage, the priest went to the worshiping place again to recommend the canoe to the protection of the god. No record is preserved of the type of god consultation carried out at sea, but informants suggested it was similar to consultations in the god house of the religious structure. The canoe priest probably took with him on the journey a stick or stone representative of his god to which a malo or coconut leaf could be tied when the priest communicated with the god. This would render the canoe still more sacred because in a sense the spirit of the god was considered as traveling with the priest on the canoe. To capsize a canoe by carelessness, lack of skill, or general bad temper was to treat the sacred canoe with less than proper consideration; it made the canoe *lapu* (violated the sanctity of a god), and the god was quick to punish this slight.

Care of Canoe

504 When canoes return from a fishing trip or other expedition, they are carried up the beach well above high-water mark and the hull, bow to the sea, is rested on chocks (*longo*). Sections of pandanus logs are split into halves longitudinally. The flat side rests on the ground. A notch is cut in the rounded upper surface of the chock and the hull of the canoe rested in this notch. Dry butt ends of coconut midribs and dry half coconut husks are also used as canoe chocks. Stern and bow pieces may be further supported by dry coconut midribs, the broad end of the butt with its natural notch serving to support the canoe piece. Small canoes and dugouts are sometimes turned hull up before resting outrigger booms on chocks.

I:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

245 Niu kawa mumū: nuts with coarse thick husks.
Niu kawa lupalupa: nuts with thin husks.
242 Niu kawa pukupuku: nuts with round husks.
Niu kawa iliiki: nuts that are small and have small husks.
824 Niu pipiki: nuts of which the husks are tough and hard to remove.
Niu mawakiwaki: nuts that are enclosed in a soft husk easily removed.
[137] Niu pulu vena: the best nuts for making sennit.

Coconut trees are also classified in terms of the color of the nut. Six types are recognized:

Niu uli: dark green.
Niu kawa kenakena: pale green.
Niu kawa meiomeio: brownish red.
Niu meio: deep brown, almost red.
Niu meio toto: almost blood-red.
Niu kawa uliuli: midway between dark and pale green.

Most nuts are self-planted, but when a man wishes to plant one for himself he makes his selection of planting nut in terms of the above empirical classes. Similarly when a boy is sent to gather nuts, the stage of the nut is mentioned or the purpose for which it is desired; and the boy is told to get it from one of the above types of trees. A man is familiar with all the trees that he controls and with most of the trees on the land sections (*kawa*) of his paternal lineage; by giving specific directions to the nut-gatherer, he can always be sure that he receives the nut best suited to the purpose in hand.

245 Nuts planted by hand should be planted at the new moon; as the moon
242 grows bigger, so will the tree grow larger and never cease to bear. Trees from nuts planted at the time of the full moon will at first bear well, but in successive bearings the number of nuts will be fewer and fewer, until the tree ceases to bear. Informants say that the young people do not pay attention to this planting rule today; hence the fertility of the coconut trees on the island is slowly waning. Formerly when nuts were planted a simple prayer was said to the god Tamayei, that he make the tree grow well. At the time of the *kaikava* food division of the chief, gifts were made to Tamayei to thank him for his assistance in producing fertile trees.

245 A tree that does not grow well is *niu tau makulu*. Only certain trees bear the sweet-husked nut (*niu mangalo*); the majority bear a nut with a bitter husk (*niu kawa*). Though he can give no reason for this difference, every man knows which of his trees is a *niu mangalo*. As there are no obvious distinguishing features about the tree or the nut, save that of taste, ability to distinguish a *mangalo* tree is based on experience over a number of years. It is not uncommon to allow coconut trees to grow from nuts planted near the cook houses. These grow into small trees and provide a ready supply of leaves and leaflets for use in making platters, baskets, trays, and mosquito switches.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

244 423 two beds well demarcated. When the talo grows, however, the two varieties are often so intermixed that the boundary is unclear. A single talo bed may be planted with one variety or with several varieties planted in sections running crosswise over the bed.

244 262 Any and all of the varieties are used indifferently in preparing the talo dishes. All are considered equally fertile. The only reason for planting one variety rather than another is to get the benefit of the slight differences in taste and flavor between varieties.

244 192 Native terminology for talo and *pulaka* is:

Pulaka: the whole plant.
Talo: the whole plant.
Wawa: old name of the talo corm; wawa is used interchangeably today with talo for both plant and corm.
Kau a pulaka, kau a talo: the petiole.
Tingapulo: the cutting, top section sliced off the mature corm with petioles and leaves.
Lau talo: talo leaf.
Launaa: pulaka leaf.
Lito: delicate young leaves protruding from the base of the innermost talo leaf.
Pilopiko: the lateral cormlet or rather produced at the side of the corm and bearing a crown of leaves.
Ala: root.
Wulawala: rootlets of the corm.
Palapala: swampy land in which the plants are grown.
Ui talo, ui pulaka: bed or garden.
Wua: talo bed of a single man, woman, or child is commonly owned talo land.

There is no elaborate garden magic in the planting and cultivation of talo. New moon planting was favored to produce plenty of talo with large and good-flavored corms. Full moon planting was also good, but after a few replantings the corms tended to grow smaller. Formerly a bed was stripped (*wawai*) and replanted at the new moon, but a few tubers were removed (*matoeya*) from a field at any time.

The complete process of going to the garden, harvesting, planting, and bringing home talo is termed *lopa wawa*.

144 282 412 When a woman or girl goes to the talo bed, she takes with her a coconut-leaf basket (*kete lauulu*); formerly also, a turtle-bone cutting implement (*talo*). She recognizes the mature (*hiwi*) corm by the yellowing and curling up of the leaves. She pulls out (*lungo*) the talo plant and slices off (*lopa*) the top section, tossing the corm to the embankment of the bed. She loosens the soil from which the plant was pulled, digging it up (*tohi*) with a stick (*hoyo ai*). She slices most of the leaves from the petiole, usually leaving one leaf, and sets the cutting back in the ground. She tramps the soil around the slip to make it firm, planting in rows, not in hills. She throws the leaves stripped from the petioles back on the ground and tramps them into the soil. She repeats the process until she has sufficient tubers. When a whole bed is being stripped by two workers, one pulls the corm and throws it to the side; the other cuts the top section from the corm and throws it back to the harvester, who replants it. In former days after harvesting sufficient talo, the worker set aside from 4 to 10 corms for the gods of the garden, saying, "Matuaetua e, Matuaetua e, here is your share of talo to help increase the yield of my garden." Then the cuttings from these corms were

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

replanted, and the corms themselves buried in the ground and left for the gods. The workers place the corms in their baskets which they carry to the village balanced on their heads (*haka ki luga o te ula*).

There is no rotation of taro with other plants nor any system for leaving lands fallow between planting. At the time of greatest famine after the seismic wave, cultivation was alternated between reserve land and private taro beds to ensure that each bed of taro was put to best use and that the corms were allowed to mature properly.

Cultivation further consists in weeding (*kaugai i te vayawaya ai*) and fertilising (*vahalepo* or *tikkao*) the taro beds:

The gardens are weeded by women about once each month during the early stages of growth. Weeds are trampled into the soil or allowed to rot on top. When six or seven leaves are fully unfurled, the beds are fertilized with *pukawa* leaves, *lau hotowa* fern, grasses, coconut leaves, or any other vegetable matter. The fern leaves are cut off at the base of the plant and wrapped for transport in coconut-leaf mats (*polopolo*). All the subsidiary branches are cut from the *pukawa* tree, and the leaves stripped by hand from each branch and placed in baskets. The branches are replanted or dried and used as firewood, canoe poles, etc. The vegetable matter is taken to the garden and spread over the ground around each taro plant. Some is trampled in, but the larger vegetable matter is allowed to rot on top. This is mainly women's work, but the men sometimes assist, especially in the cutting down of the *pukawa* branches. Normally there are about two crops of taro from each bed during each twelve-month period. This means fertilising each year about two months after each planting.

In the old days a little dryland taro (*kape*) was cultivated. Killed by the tidal wave, it has not been replanted.

At least eighteen stages in the growth of taro or *pulaka* are recognized:

Tuki te tingapula: the cutting is planted.
Fo lau, lau tupu te ulu o te wawe: 2d day, the roots grow.
Fo tolu, lau velo te lito: 3d day, the young leaves begin to protrude from the base of the innermost petiole.
Fo lima, lau lon te lito o te lima: 5th day, the young leaves grow tall.
Fo ngauulu, lau velo te lito wou: 10th day, new petioles and leaves shoot up.
Taupo ono, lau lau lua: the sixth day, there are two petioles and leaves.
Kau velo exai te tahi o te lito: (15th day) the third petiole and leaf shoot up.
Kau lau tahi: (20th day) there are now three petioles well grown.
Kau lau wa: (25th day) there are four petioles. This is the time to cultivate and fertilize the young taro.
Kau lau lima: (25th day) there are five petioles growing.
Kau wakalaungavalli: (26th day) the leaves sway freely in the wind.
Kau wahi te lau lima, lau wyi, lau tupu and ahi te lau lauu, lau ono lau tahi, lau ua: (30th day) petioles upreared and darkens in color, the leaf grows large, there are six main leaves, the plant flourishes.
Kau ouuto ki luuga: (35th day) the petioles grow high.
Kau ahi lau ki luuga: (45th day) the petioles grow high indeed.
Kau tahi te ula: (1st month) the head is built, the petioles and leaves stop growing, and the corm begins to grow.
Kau ouuapo te wawe: (3d month) the corm is two finger-joints long.
Ohu ki te vavaaga o te wawe: (4th and 5th months) the time when the corm grows rapidly.
Kau kivi, lau wawaka: (6th and 7th months) the corm is mature and large.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

cally as *vaali tukuna* "the rear (bottom) of the covered satchel", the implication being that the gift is one of the very precious articles which are always kept hidden in the bottom of the *tukuna* satchel. Such a gift demands in exchange another *tamafoa*. *Wateaga* is a gift made to a dead friend or relative's body. The gift will be recompensed in part by a food division accompanying the mourning ceremonies, in part by an expected return from the family of the deceased when the giver himself dies. *Tape* is the name for a gift of food or mats to the bride or groom at a wedding feast. It, too, is recompensed by a food division and by return gifts when there is a wedding in the household of the giver. The same word, *tape*, is applied to a gift to the gods, whether a gift of coconuts to the god Tauaavei, a gift of taro to the gods Matalonga and Matakiua, or a gift of fish to a priest, ultimately to be given to a god. These gifts are made to procure the good will of the gods. A *vaakatapa* is a gift made by one lover to another and carries with it the expectation of a return gift. The lovers' gifts thus symbolize a temporary or permanent relationship between the two persons who are attracted to each other (p. 295).

Gifts which are given at birth, wedding, or death celebrations imply a greater degree of compulsion than other gifts. They are termed generically, *mea* (things), and the cultural implication is that they are required of relatives no matter what the personal relations between giver and recipient may be. Other gifts are, culturally, supposed to be free gifts. Whether the gift is free or compulsory, the expectation of return varies only slightly in binding force; the ethical obligation is equally strong.

A return gift of lesser value than the first gift is termed *tali*; one of equal value to the first gift is *yaavi*, and one of greater value, whether given through excessive generosity or to shame the first giver, is *yaayaa nunui*. To refuse to accept a gift is termed *pa tali*; such refusal is tantamount to an open declaration of ill-feeling between the two groups concerned. The generous man is *etaeai*, the mean or stingy person, *habionga*. There is no record of reciprocal gifts between paternal or maternal lineages at any personal ceremonials.

A marked temporal discontinuity in the gift exchange system occurs in the return of compulsory gifts. Death or marriage gifts may not be returned until an interval of many months or years has elapsed. The giving of the return awaits the occurrence of a life crisis in the household of the original giver, and until this crisis occurs, the debt remains unpaid. There is no such discontinuity in more personal gifts given in less formalized situations. Gifts between lovers or gifts of remembrance evoke immediate return gifts, so that the relation between the two parties to the exchange is defined once and for all at the earliest possible moment.

Owing to lack of contact with outside peoples, trade played no part in native Pukapukan economy. The village copra crops are disposed of today to traders for money, which is divided among all the men, women, and children of the village, to be disposed of according to individual choice.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole I-5 (1934-5):1938 Pukapukans

643 she remained a virgin all her life and did not go through the adulthood rite.
613 From the time she was chosen she lived in a special house called *te wale ye*
613 *o te* *meyabitenga* (the sacred house of the sacred maid). The induction of
782 a *meyabitenga* was described as follows:

The sacred maid wore a pandanus kilt dyed red with the juice of *wolo* berries, a headband of *wolo* bark, also dyed red, and pearl-shell ornaments. She was placed in a horizontal position with her back to the ground, lifted high in the air on the palms of men of her lineage, and carried to the sacred enclosure of the principal god of the lineage. All the other people of the lineage, and the general populace, if it wished, followed with uplifted palms and heads. As the procession reached the enclosure they chanted the song "Kai yuki fakio", which was also chanted at the burial of a chief. At the word "O!", the girl was placed before the worshiping stone (*ena*) of the enclosure. The executive then dedicated her to the god with a prayer (*tahua te ua*). No informant could remember the exact form of this prayer, but it contained reference to the increased prosperity of the island during the life of the sacred maid. Pau thought the following extract from an ancient prayer of obscure meaning was recited at this time:

Kia[a] wai mali wenke	Let the clusters of nuts be full (?)
Kia wenke te vanua	Let the nuts taken grow big
Kia tamangatanga	(Addressing the *meyabitenga*) Beckon to the god (that he may answer this request)
Kia manuke te ika	Let the fish be numerous
Kia pi ki te lai	Let (bone) flow to the sea (in quantities from the abundance of food eaten)
Ke ale te vanua	Until the land stinks
Kava ye te tangata	Continue the feasts for the people

After this prayer, the *meyabitenga* was considered dedicated to the god. She was then carried about the island on the uplifted palms of her relatives and shown to the people. Everywhere she was greeted with the remark: "Kou tangata wen kou ki mai" (You are making a circuit of the island—to bring us prosperity). The ceremonial tour finished, she was taken back to her house and her guarded life began.

613 The *meyabitenga* was guarded by old female relatives (*kouai* or *tamio*).
262 She was kept inside her house for two or three months at a stretch, her skin carefully oiled so that it became exceedingly fair. She was fed the choicest foods: parts of the breast and green fat of the turtle; the fatty part
[302] of the flesh of albacore and other large fish which stretches from the dorsal fin to the tail and contains fat white flesh; all kinds of fat fish such as
643 *ature*; and the breast meat of birds. All the skinny portions of her food supplies, lean fish, wings and legs of birds, were eaten by her chaperons.

613 The sacred maid of the chiefly lineage of Loto lived close to the place
643 Matale, the other sacred maids living similarly close to their consecrators. From the residence of the *meyabitenga* to the lagoon beach was a specially cleared path called *yiewga ele* (not to be confused with *yiewga mauli*, cleared paths built as symbols of deified ancestors). This path was taped to con-
[193] tinuous eyes at times once every two or three months when the maid walked on it to show herself (*mako yuwi*) to the populace. Then the ceremonies

[a] *Kia*, an archaic particle used in petitioning requests to the god.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

613 643 597

never succeeded to the title, though descent might be through a woman where her male child was adopted by the chief. Before he died, the chief nominated his successor by the act of placing a pearl-shell ornament (*yano*) around the man's neck. After the chief's death the matter was discussed by the people of the paternal lineage. If they disapproved the chief's choice, on the ground of incompetence, there was much discussion and possible intrigue, until they agreed on another suitable candidate. In this way, direct male issue might be passed over in favor of someone from a junior line of the lineage, who would be adopted into the main line of descent before induction into office. The time elapsing between the death of the chief and the induction of a successor varied according to the amount of discussion involved, and the number of conflicting lines to be harmonized. The final choice of the lineage was indicated by placing the ornament (*yano*) round the neck of the successor and the *tauanano* ornament (a string of pearl-shell fishhook *shanks*) round his waist. In Maliwutu lineage, the chosen person had to establish his right to the title by passing a test. He went to the sacred enclosure of the lineage and struck the stone of the god; if the god was favorably inclined to this candidate, he sent a rainbow across the sky. No candidate who was unable thus to produce a rainbow was ever inducted as chief.

776 782

613 643 173 773

Both pattern and variation governing succession to title are best illustrated by a consideration of the types of succession recorded in the genealogy of the supreme chief. In the accompanying genealogy (table 4) the chiefly title-holders are numbered consecutively from Mataliki to the present day.

The succession passed from father to son from Mataliki, the traditional founder of Pukapuka, to the sixth chief, Kamole, in the sixth generation. From a genealogy of Maliwutu lineage of Ngake, it would seem that Kamole succeeded to the title of chief of Maliwutu, and in his person the two chiefs of Tua and Maliwutu were combined. Kamole had a son, unnamed in the Tua genealogy but named Tamaliki in the Maliwutu genealogy, who apparently succeeded to the title of chief of Maliwutu. In Tua lineage matters were more complex.

Kamole's son was married to a woman named Yalasyfiu, who was very kind to Kamole in sickness and in his old age. Kamole's son was apparently less filial in this respect, and Kamole thought to reward his daughter-in-law for her care and attention by passing the title to anyone she wished to name. Yalasyfiu herself could not hold the title, but Kamole was of the opinion that the honor of naming the next chief was the greatest tribute he could pay to her friendship for him.

The people of the lineage objected to the possibility of the title's passing out of their own lineage under this arrangement, so they insisted that Kamole should propose a test: if Yalasyfiu could find a champion (*tau*) to pass this test, then she might name the successor to the title. Kamole agreed to this arrangement. He gathered a great number of coconut leaves, stripping several trees completely. With one leaflet tied round his waist, he lay on the ground, face downward, and was covered with all the coconut leaves. The test was to pick up at one time all the leaves covering Kamole without injuring the chief. Yalasyfiu chose Kui, a man of special powers, to act as her champion. Kui took his spear and advanced toward the prone figure of the chief, performing the *hoju* ritual (p. 322). He struck at Kamole once but failed to pick up the leaves; struck a second time but failed; the third time he thrust his spear close and with a superhuman wrench picked up all the coconut leaves covering Kamole. He threw them all in the air with the exception of the last round Kamole's waist, which he left untouched. As the leaves fell through the air, Kui struck them in rapid succession, shattering each and every leaf before it touched the ground.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

beauty. The woman was bathing in the water. The *tikitiki* pecked at her kilt which fell off. When Muli rushed from the water to drive away the bird, Ngaliyeyeu was waiting for her.

COMMUNICATION WITH THE GODS

Communication with other-worldly powers was generally through the medium of priests. Many times, however, a layman might procure the favor of the gods, or the gods might themselves favor the man with a communication, without the medium of the priest. When warning of reserve violations, the gods and attendants spoke directly to the person concerned. On the other hand, to consult the ancestor god for fishing favors, the captain or any member of a fishing canoe communicated the desires of his crew by performing the *wakatato* ritual close to the religious clearing of the god. In *wakatato*, the supplicant stands up, sways his body back and forward and quickly beats the fronts of his thighs (*wakatato te tenga*) with the palms of his hands. This was believed to attract the attention of the god. Consultations of free lance gods or spirits were sometimes accompanied by a gift of flowers thrown on the ground where the god was supposed to be, or else thrown on the ground anywhere, with the idea that the god would see the flowers and recognize the tribute.

The technique of communicating a request to the gods Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu was different. The intercessor held a coconut-leaf midrib in the air and addressed the gods as follows:

Te lua ule kaiua e!	Two petrels desirable to eat (a term of affectionate address), hail!
Te matangi matino	(Make) the wind calm
Toku te vaega!	Beholde the spacings (between the waves)!

Each time he reached the end of his request, he beat the butt of the midrib on the ground with a loud report to attract the attention of the gods. He repeated the plea and the noise-making until the gods listened to him and answered the request. This method of interceding with these gods was done anywhere and was as successful on sea as on land. That anyone might thus directly address these gods probably accounts for some of their popularity.

There is no record of any direct communication with the gods by family prayers, libations, food gifts, or dedication of children.

Religious Structures

Communications to the gods by priests needed the instrumentalities of religious structures: *pioaga*, *anuanga*, *uaka atua*, and *pota*. The *pota* structure, as distinguished from the sacred seat (*pota*) in a god house, was a simple shrine. I saw none. The shrine of Leweke, the god of chiefs, was

118 described to me as a small raised platform of stones or coral pebbles, about
182 4 feet square, 2 feet high. Probably coral slabs were raised on edge and the
226 container then made was filled with small white coral pebbles. When a man returned from clam fishing he stopped before this shrine. Raising a clam in one hand, he addressed the god: "Leweke o, aumai te pipi kula, te pipi melo, te pipi waula uia; teia to tatau" (Leweke o, bring me—next time—red shellfish, brown shellfish, black shellfish; here is your share). He then threw his clam into the sea, toward a submerged rock a few feet from the beach. By this means he assured himself of abundant shellfish next time. A priest might also pray before this shrine.

118 The god house (*uale atua*), the sacred enclosure (*aumaga ya*), and the
613 cemetery constituted an integrated unit for each lineage and its gods in the functioning of Pukapukan religion. The sacred enclosure and the god house might be situated close together, contiguous with the cemetery of the senior lineage in the lineage grouping, or the three structures might be some distance apart. All three units, however, were on the section of land (*kewa*) owned by the lineage. Each sub-lineage (*wahowae*) of the major lineage had its own cemetery, usually also its own god house; if the sub-lineage was powerful enough to control major gods it also had its own sacred enclosure. In any case, the number of the lineage's sacred enclosures and god houses depended on the number of major gods recognized by the lineage. The number of god houses depended further on the number of ancestor gods recognized by the lineage, for each ancestor god was represented by a sacred clearing (*yiouga ya*) and each clearing had its associated god house.

118 The size of the god house varied with the number of sub-lineage units in
346 the descent group which, with the number of lineage gods, determined the number of priests that used the house. Each priest in the lineage had a seat next to a main ridgepost in the god house. Before and behind each post were sacred seats (*pafu*), two to each post, for the priests to sit on. If there were twelve priests in the lineage, a house with six ridgeposts was required. The seats consisted of coral slabs placed on edge to form indifferently a round or square curbing about 9 inches high; the interior of this curbing was filled with fine gravel to form a low seat about 16 inches wide. The floor of the house was covered with fine white gravel.

118 Informants were not clear as to the degree to which the god house was
193 *tapu*. Priests could go at any time to the house, which seems in many respects to have served as a club house for them when they were not engaged in consulting their gods. Women could not enter the house, nor could the general populace sit, idle, or work there. An individual might go to the god house to consult or to take food to a priest. The priests themselves might eat in the house without desecrating it. At special times, the men of the lineage could go to the god house, as for a shoulder-wrestling contest held at

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

To *kape*, the priest stood up with bent body, and advanced in a zigzag fashion, taking six or seven short tripping steps in one direction, then a similar number of steps obliquely. This is called *tuakaali te tuapa*. At the same time he beat his thighs with the palms of his hands (*tuakatere te tuapa*) and made with his lips a b r...r...r... sound as if imitating the call of the wild pigeon (*kape te lao*). Alternately he knelt on his sacred seat and performed this ritual without the steps. After performing these acts for a shorter or longer time, the priest expected to be filled by the spirit of the god. The spirit's manifestations were various: the priest's skin broke out in goose flesh (*hiikiila*); his head felt to if it were growing bigger and bigger; his feet moved against his will, and he felt that he was walking on air. He might break into a violent sweat, accompanied by chattering of the teeth, moaning, or speaking in a distorted voice. Any of these manifestations was taken as a sign of the presence of the god. The priest might immediately speak about the will of the god, or else interpret his experience to the people when he returned to normal feeling.

Variations of this general pattern of god house communication occurred in enclosure ceremonies. The people of the lineage went to the sacred enclosure of the lineage god for general consultations when the lineage planned a large-scale fishing expedition, as for *pelo* to Nassau or Tima reef; when it planned a fishing, wrestling, or other contest with the other lineages; when a bad sickness or epidemic affected the people of the lineage; when a foreign canoe or a white man's boat was sighted; when, on infrequent occasions, a lineage decided to set up a sacred clearing for a man just made a deified ancestor; and at the time of the morning rising of the Pleiades (Matalliki) when the lineage gathered for ceremonies to procure the favor of the god during the coming year. Members of the chiefly lineages went to their respective enclosures for the induction of a new chief or sacred maid; all the people of the island attended the induction ceremonies of the supreme chief on the enclosure of i Tua lineage.

A reconstruction from informant's accounts of an enclosure ceremony follows:

The people gathered at the sacred enclosure on the cleared common space (*mwaga lauga*) that surrounded the taga aria. They grouped themselves around the outside of the coral curbing (*atinga waita*). Attended by the other priests of the lineage the officiating priest met the people if the god house was close; or, if it was distant, he arrived at the enclosure after the people were there. He was dressed in full priestly costume. Either the priest brought an offering (*lakei*) to the god or the people gave him one when they officially explained why they wished him to consult the god for them. Then as the people watched, the priest crossed the threshold of the enclosure at one of the gates (*pa*). He advanced to the sacred stone in the center and tied to the stone the offering. This was of coconut leaves if the consultation was for fishing contests, for aid in a quarrel, or for help in meeting foreign canoes. An offering of a pandanus male or bands of *wolo* bark (*awei wolo*) was used for sickness consultations. In general, the type of offering depended on the priest's choice from the materials supplied by the people of the lineage to the stock of such god gifts kept ready in the god house. Coconut-leaf offerings seem to have been the most common. To wind the offering around the sacred stone is called *wakaipa*; to fasten the offering to the stone with a knot is *pele*.

After offering the gift to the god, the priest squatted, crouched, or knelt before the stone and talked silently to the god. Presently he felt one of the signs that the

god was within him. While he was in this condition, the priest or an assistant tied a second offering around the stone as a thank offering to the god for deigning to receive the priest's request. The priest then went to the curbing of the enclosure and gave the people patiently waiting outside the message of the god—that the god was favorable to the request or that he advised such and such a course.

If the priest experienced no signs of supernatural power, he told the people that the god was undecided whether to accede to the request, or else needed time to consider what advice to offer. The priest then asked the people to go away, to discuss the matter some more, and decide if it was really to be carried through. Meanwhile he would try to communicate with the god a second time to expedite the decision while the people were discussing the matter. If the people were inflexible in their determination, they returned a second time and announced their decision. But if the god still gave no sign, the people dispersed and the matter was dropped; alternately another god of the lineage might be approached through another priest in the hope of procuring better results. After the people dispersed, the priest returned to his god house. An attendant then removed the offering from the stone and took it back to the god house where it was used by the priest, handed back to the owner if the priest had no use for it, or stored for a future occasion. Coconut leaves were thrown away, but lands of *welo* bark were kept for further use as offerings or as a head decoration for the priest.

With one exception, the pigeon ritual was not performed on the enclosure. When a foreign canoe or a white man's boat was sighted, on each enclosure on the island and on each god house, the priests performed the pigeon ritual to the gods of the island. They put offerings on each sacred stone and prayed to the god to send the foreign vessel away from Pukapuka. This the gods did at times by sending rain showers which blotted out the island from the strangers' sight. Should the gods allow the foreigners to land on the island they prayed that the gods turn the thoughts of the strangers from mischief. In general, the priest was supposed to go to the enclosure in a humble mood, inconsistent with the excitement produced by violent *lupe* movements. It was perhaps difficult to produce a dissociated state without the help of the pigeon ritual; thus the gods were more difficult to communicate with, in the enclosure ceremonies. But the procedure saved the priest from making ready commitments to the people on behalf of the god, with consequent blame if things went wrong, until he was sure that the people were determined on their course of action. Then, after repeated urgings, he could strive to produce the required symbols of god-favor as quickly as possible.

A type of intercession mentioned in chants is termed *nukatulouloulou*. It is given as the method of communicating with the gods in the land Yayake. The supplicant advances to the stone of his god, and moves his body back and forward as he says, "Tulouloulou to nwa . . .". (Grant this thing. . .). This type of body swaying was apparently never used in the worship of Pukapukan gods.

Through his continual contact with other-worldly forces, the priest had powers not generally possessed by the populace. His god gave him food in mysterious ways, protected him from general and specific dangers, enabled

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

from which there is only one story of a return, that of Milimili who was assisted by the gods, Tulikalo and Tangata-no-te-moana.

When a new soul became finally imprisoned in the Underworld, it was welcomed by all its deceased relatives, who came forward and provided a feast for the new spirit. There were no class distinctions in the Po; hence there was no special reception or treatment for a chief. Spirits did not grow old or mature in the Po. People who died old were looked after by relatives who had died young. Babies never grew up. The old cared for the children, and the young men and women provided food for the rest of the community.

Final knowledge of the Underworld before white contact was derived from a visit of the seer Levi:

> One night Levi heard certain sounds of strange music which he diagnosed as slit gong beats of a rhythm unknown on Pukapuka. The music was obviously coming from two wooden gongs played by a skilled musician. Levi decided to follow this strange music, so (in a trance) his soul left his body and journeyed to the Underworld. It came to the place where the gods were merrily dancing to the rhythms of Tulikalo. Levi watched in admiration the skill displayed by this god as he beat out the most intricate rhythms. Levi admired also the beautiful gong sticks of polished ironwood and longed to possess these for himself. Levi drew near the god, and, profiting by a sudden diversion of attention, snatched the sticks from the place where Tulikalo had laid them, and sped back to Pukapuka. Avoiding all entanglements, Levi duly arrived on Wale. In the morning he showed the sticks to the people, explaining how he came into possession of them. One stick was later lost, but the other is in Pukapuka today, doing duty as a knife handle.

MAGIC

The use of black or white magic in Pukapuka was apparently extremely rare in former days. Most of the many references to white magic in the stories refer to the power exercised by the gods to protect or otherwise serve their worshipers. The gods were communicated with and asked to do these favors through the ordinary method of prayer (*takutoku*). The priest Pakai is said to have procured favors from his god by making some use of *welo* bark streamers on his headdress, but whether these streamers were used as a sort of bait object, no informant could tell. Two examples of white magic involving the use of bait objects are found among the stories: Vaetuaniu endows a coconut midrib with the power of speech by spitting into a coconut cup which he places on the midrib; the chief Tuyiyanola, in Yayake, has a woman bear him a child by putting some of his semen in a coconut cup and floating it over the water to the woman who rubs it over her body (p. 381).

No white magic technique was remembered by informants. The Polynesian word *hawahi* is not found in the Pukapukan dialect. The word *talotalo*, however, means an incantation, in the sense of a spell which magically causes a desired result. The only example of a *talotalo* that informants could recall was the one used by Yinam to put together again the tree chopped down by

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

In reef-fishing contests, groups of three men, one man from each village, fish from separate locations along the reef for two successive days, stopping each evening at a mutually decided time. Each day's catch is taken to the village, the heads cut off and counted. Formerly the fish were counted on the meeting place of the old men. The village with the greatest number of heads wins the contest and has the right to chant and dance on the third day.

Flying-fish contests are held at night, usually for one night only. The fishing procedure is given elsewhere (p. 58). The canoes come back in the small hours of the morning and anchor in the lagoon. The crews come ashore, leaving one man on each canoe as a guard. In the morning the canoes are beached and the catch counted. The fish are cooked for a feast on the following day, when the winning village has the right to chant. During the season for flying fish the young men engage in netting practice (*tautau pese*) on the beach each evening. The practice nets are made from the aerial roots of the pandanus (*yalo* variety). The "fish" are pandanus keys. One man kneels on the sand with a pile of keys before him. One or two netters stand facing him about 15 paces away with nets in their hands. The thrower tosses the keys very quickly with one or both hands towards the netters, who attempt to catch them as they come flying through the air. Older men comment and give advice to the more inexperienced. The practice is considered as much a game as a serious preparation for the fishing by keeping the eye in training and maintaining skill.

Formerly the village men consulted the gods of the paternal lineage to procure good luck in deep-sea fishing contests (*sualoma*). It was believed that the gods would order their attendant spirits to send the fish to the canoes of one village only, at the same time barring the fish from the canoes of the other two villages. As this was a challenge to the gods of the other villages to break down the barriers surrounding the canoes, each contest became a test of the powers of the gods of the respective lineages. The modern Pukapukan holds to this old pattern when the men of each village come together for a prayer meeting before each day's fishing (as they do for all other contests), and when one man of the fishing fleet offers up a prayer before the lines are dropped overboard.

Before an exhibition deep-sea fishing contest no deep-sea fishing was done for five days. On the first of these five days the men of each village met together to arrange canoe crews, and on the succeeding days they continued to meet to repair fishing gear. On the night before the contest the Yato men fished in their fishpond for *avu* (milk mullet) to use as bait; Ngake villagers went to Motu Ko to catch *aivale* (herring) for the same purpose. On the morning of the fishing contest, the men collected other bait for the regular fishing. The trolling canoes (*vaka takataka mamao*, distant circuit canoes), which are a regular feature of these contests, were away by 3:30 a.m., one from Yato and one from Ngake but none from Loto because that village controls no section of reef or fishing pond from which it can draw trolling bait.

The trolling canoes are fully manned six-seater canoes (*vakoono*). They leave the reef by the passage and circle the atoll from north to east. Then they come back to the passage and circle the atoll from south to east, trolling for bonito and *pala* fish and looking for turtles. They join the fishing fleet on the fishing ground (*vakeke*) at about 3:00 p.m. and fish with the regular fleet for the remainder of the day. Their circuit of the atoll is made on both fishing days. The wife or other female relative of the captain of each trolling canoe provides the food for the canoe crew. Called the *tukupaku*, she prepares quantities of the taro dish *likoliko*, which she puts in the canoe each morning before the start. The canoes troll with bonito rod and hooks and with hand lines. When the crew rest from paddling, they fish with hand lines. All the countable fish caught by these canoes go to the general pile of village fish, but smaller fish left over after the canoe crew has eaten raw as much as they wish while in the canoe, must be given to the *tukupaku* in return for her food. Membership in the crew of a trolling canoe is no light honor. The two days' circuit round the atoll is a task for brawny paddlers only, especially if the trolling is without much success; and the crew earn well the after-contest rest.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

WARFARE

There is no record in Pukapuka of pitched battles between opposing groups, or of warfare existing within the social structure of a definite institution. The atoll was too small, the total population too few, and the amount of available land too little for institutional warfare to have developed. Informants definitely asserted that warfare was unknown on Pukapuka. They were correct in one sense, but the existence of weapons and stories about fighting shows that the island was not always at peace. Fighting incidents in stories of the fighting at Waletua (p. 389), the fighting against Yangalipule *po* (1), the fighting of Tuiva against the men of Yato (p. 395), the fighting against Uyo (1), and the fighting of Te Nana in Yayake (p. 403) reveal that such fighting was caused by violation of the tapu of the reserves, quarrels over food divisions, personal rivalries, quarrels over division of the reserves, and like matters. The fighting that occurred rarely rose above the level of brawling, but where a pitched hand-to-hand contest resulted, much blood seems to have been shed for little cause. The number of deaths in these contests seems to have been increased by the fact that losers habitually committed suicide by having relatives bury them alive.

The following customs relate to fighting:

At a meeting for the discussion of highly controversial matters, a net of *welo* bark was hung on the beach nearby as a warning to all to keep the peace. Anyone wishing for violence had to declare his intentions by tearing down the net, which not only provoked secular violence from opponents but also punishment from the gods for violating the tapu of the net.

A man prepared for fighting by tying up his long hair and girding on his two malos, the malo of sennit and the malo of pandanus. The double-wound coils of sennit round waist and abdomen served as protective armor for the vital organs against spear thrusts. There is no record of body painting or decoration.

Weapons were kept in the sleep house on the platform, laid across the tiebeams, or in the armory house (*male lakou*). Each of the principal paternal lineages possessed its armory, a house of the *male wakayamoa* type. Some such houses were built on the boundary of the principal cemetery of the lineage; others were close to the principal god house of the lineage. In this house the men of the lineage and the sub-lineages stored their heavy spears and clubs, keeping at home only smaller weapons like fish-bone knives. The armories were not tapu; anyone might visit them at any time, and they were kept in good order by the attendants of the god house. The weapons were stored in these houses on platforms, leaving the ground space clear for use by overflow mourners from the mourning houses when many people of the lineage stayed at the cemetery during a period of mourning. In case of alarm, a man girded on his malo at home, picked up his smaller weapons, and ran to the armory of his lineage to select suitable spears and clubs. He might, in dire need, steal a weapon from an armory not belonging to his own lineage, provided he could gain access to it.

Immediately following a war alarm or the sighting of foreign vessels offshore, the priests of the lineage went to the religious structure (*aumaga po*) of the lineage, tied coconut leaves to the stone of the god, and prayed for success in the coming meeting. Where the men of Wale supported the high chief of the island against a group bent on antisocial ends, the chief went to the sacred enclosure to pray to the goddess Tuim, who,

244 when the first leaves are just opening.

241 Useful plants such as bananas, sugar cane, talo, niu [coconut tree], etc. should all be planted at the time of the new moon if they are to grow and produce well.

625 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 232--analyst.] Through
616 the idea of a women's pule [guard] is new, informants noted
621 that it was entirely consonant with Pukapukan patterns that the woman's pule should be organized on wua lines, all the Kati women serving at once, followd by the Lulu women. This would only include those members of the wua who were members of the village and hence represents village membership primarily, wua membership secondarily.

597 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 251--analyst.] It is
592 probably not an over exaggeration to say that there is not one household in Pukapuka which does not number among the children of the house at least one, if not more, tama kokoti, and at least one tama wangai, who may or may not later become a tama kokoti.

581 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 295--analyst.] One informant felt that obediance was probably the greatest virtue to be found in a woman, but man looks for sexual pleasure first of all. Than he looks for other virtues.

522 While the Pukapukan language lends itself easily to puns,
196 there is no such form of humor nor appreciation of it.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 310--analyst.] When
245 the clusters of nuts were brought to the malae of food division,
771 one was chosen to take each cluster and shake it. All the
782 nuts that fell from the cluster were divided among the people. All that remained on the bunch were given to the god. The number to be left on the stem was preferably 1-4. If a man shook a bunch and more than 5 remained for the share of the god, this was considered too many, and this food divider was dismissed never to be chosen again. He was considered to be too partial to the god, and not partial enough to the people of the island. After all the clusters were shaken thus, the nuts for Tamayei were gathered together and taken to a back part of the bush, somewhere behind the site of the present church, and then laid on the ground. Here they are left to rot and it is presumed that the god feasts from the spiritual essence of the nuts.

285 filled by the open ola and the tuluma of lau wal pakapaka.
177

225 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 69--analyst.] When the turtles are seen joined together in copulation, men swim out and surround the turtles. One man dives down underneath the turtle, and comes up to grasp the foreflippers, kapakapa. He pushes the head up, the rear parts are depressed, the man puts his legs around the turtle's body and holds it. His companions come up, stretch the foreflippers apart and tie them to a stick. The turtle is then lifted into the canoe and brought ashore.

526 Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu were the originators of the game
776 Lukipoko, and through their teaching it to Wotoa and his friend, the game was introduced into Pukapuka.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 308--analyst.] Atua punupunu [principal gods of the paternal lineages]: When asked the meaning of the word punupunu, informants say, "round". When reminded that the Pukapukan word for round is pukupuku and that punupunu is the Rarotongan word, then informants hedge and say the classification must be atua pukupuku. When asked to explain the meaning of such a classification, they say they do not know, whether it might have referred to a round stone that represented the god or whether to something else, informants simply do not know.

782 When the aliki [chief] or the wola [executive] go to pray to [the goddess] Taua, each takes with him lau niu or lau wuti which he ties round watu Taua. "This is to make the stone look pretty, glad, and happy so that it will listen receptively to the prayers of the men." No food offerings were ever given to Taua, only the wrapping of leaves.

539 Native texts.

The Revenge (Literally the Oven) of Two Girls. [For English translation see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 379-380, category 116 or 539--analyst.]

Ko te Imu o Lua Tamawine. No Tonga laua. Eia lua o laua kainga: ko Manawune ma Tangaloa. Wo loa lua tamawine is ki Yayake. Wakake loa lunga o Na Tua Wuewue. Ta mako loa laua. Wakalongolongo loa te wenua is i te laleka o laua loo. Wo loa is te wenua is ki a Tuyimate. Ikiiki mai loa ki te